1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naa, ten ńá en-ginyi-kerai, neitau 'ñgotonye ake 'n-dókitin.

If a baby dies, its mother only lays aside her ornaments[1].

Il-tauja oo 'l-menefiga[2] loo-'l-tufiganak, oo 'l-asuria.

Peoples souls and spirits, and snakes[3].

Teu etaa en-ńá ol-tufigani, nêji etaa en-nedufigo ol-tau lenye. Naa, ten ńá ol-tufigani, ore p' einosi, ntá ńi ol-tau lenye. Nêji eidipi anaa 'n-giahu: meitóki ol-tau apiu.

When a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come to life again[4].

Kake ten ńá ol-oiboni araki ol-karnia, nenukari, ore pe eñgwtyu o-eesen lenye, nêji etawale ol-tau lenye, etaa ol-asurai; nelo ol-asurai eng-aig oo-'n-gera enyena, neiñgurua.

But when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots; and the snake goes to his children's kraal to look after them.

Ti-araki naa nêja, pe mâar il-Masaae 'l-asuria lenye. Naa, ten edol i-ñgurêyuk ol-asurai ti-aji, nenaki kulla, nemej ol-asurai, nelo.

The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away.

Etii 'l-asuria ovook, naa le-'n-giahtani oo-'l-Aiser; naa, ten êar likae etii 'l-orpeny, nêja: 'Miar, anua 'l-kulalañg.'

There is a black snake, which is sacred to the Aiser clan; and if a person of another clan were to strike the snake whilst the owners were present, they would tell him to desist as it belongs to them.

[1] The Dinka, Bari, and other Nilotic tribes follow similar customs (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, pp. 190, 192; and *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 338, &c.).

[2] Ol-tau, the heart, mind, soul; ol-menefigani, the corpse, spirit, ghost.

[3] The Dinka, Bari, Latuka, and other Nilotic tribes, also pay reverence to snakes (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197, 198; Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, vol. i, p. 55; Casati, *Ten Years*, p. 51; *Emin Pasha*, *loc. cit.*, p. 339; *&c.*). The Zulus hold that divine ancestral shades are embodied in certain tame and harmless snakes, whom their human kinsfolk receive with kindly respect and propitiate with food (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 8, 231).

[4] The Dinka and Bari likewise disbelieve in a life after death (Kaufmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 194, 198).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

778 825 Eata oli en-giabûmi naji l-Tartoero l-asuria lenye sambu. Naa, ten tarare ol-tuñgani loo-l-Tartoero ol-likae, pe meiitu, neipot l-asuria lenyena, ntjo: 'E-ale e-'ng-aji e-ytyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eitu ekwet lido tarare, nepwtun, l-asuria asony.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many hues; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snakes will come and bite him.

[614] Eata oli kulye-ebomito l-asuria lenye. Etii l-asuria ooibor, netii l-oonyokye, netii oli l-oonyori. Etii l-kulikae oosta en-dîki netii e-murt anaa ol-kila lo-l-mûruo, neiber kulikae l-laghuny anaa ol-mûruo kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

[791] Eji oli oata l-olbonok l-kulenyena ootii ol-lana.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 795 797 Nâji tan tâ kulikae-tuñganak kitonk anaa 'M-Batyany, ore pe enukari, nepwo l-taaja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 824 Ten eirura ol-tuñgani, nemolonki likae-tuñgani ainytye. Ainytye akini, anaa eji: 'Kiaiki meidim ol-tau lenye sioriayuaye, nâk.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Eje l-Maasai natii l-menetige, anaa medoi; kake eji odoi in-gîsho, naa ten oiligurua 'n-gishu pikin e-wejî nâno, nâji odoi il-menetige arukî ol-dwaro.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 306.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

In connection with the decided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Neiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lybon, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngâi, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngâi. My lamp was Ngâi. Ngâi was in the steaming holes. His house was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had some connection with Ngâi. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the dress, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the grass comes the milk. No liberties may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—*cleanliness* being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for massacring a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

Moran found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

In time Moran's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day closed for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyænas' laughter. These fierce

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12 Kisonko

791 success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any member of the Engidong [GH] clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all 178 exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, 543 however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Taiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the morans of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shongo, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. 543 He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relatives of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

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766 D71 [613] [269] [778]

stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

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Concerning the burial of Mbaryan, his son Zendeo told me the following: When the ol oibonî died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a goat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ca. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbaryan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

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If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /910/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/314 cont./
revenge goes low against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 300-500 cattle -- now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /315/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

The kraal of the ol olbonr is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called ol olbonyani (pl. il olbonyani). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Laita, where blood revenge is also only very rarely used.